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AUTHOR Roberts, Linda P.; Kitao, S. Kathleen
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ABSTRACT

Three diverse case studies in which developing nations (the Philippines, India, and Nigeria) have chosen English as the language of instruction for the purpose of enhancing national development are described. In each case, the linguistic situation presents serious conflicts between the forces of nationalism and modernization. The Philippines present an intricate combination of competing indigenous languages and strong colonial influences in the programs of language planning for educational development. India is a traditionally multilingual society, with no majority language but widespread use of English. Nigeria has the most complex language situation of any country in the world, with deep and serious conflicts between the indigenous languages and the former colonial language. Each case study examines why the situation is interestingly unique, describes the overall linguistic context and the historical and current language policy, examines problems in the existing system, and makes conclusions about the country's outlook for language and development education. (MSE)

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LANGUAGE DIVERSITY, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT: CASE STUDIES OF THE PHILIPPINES, INDIA AND NIGERIA

Linda P. Roberts
Department of Teacher Education, Michigan State University

S. Kathleen Kitao
Department of Communication, Michigan State University

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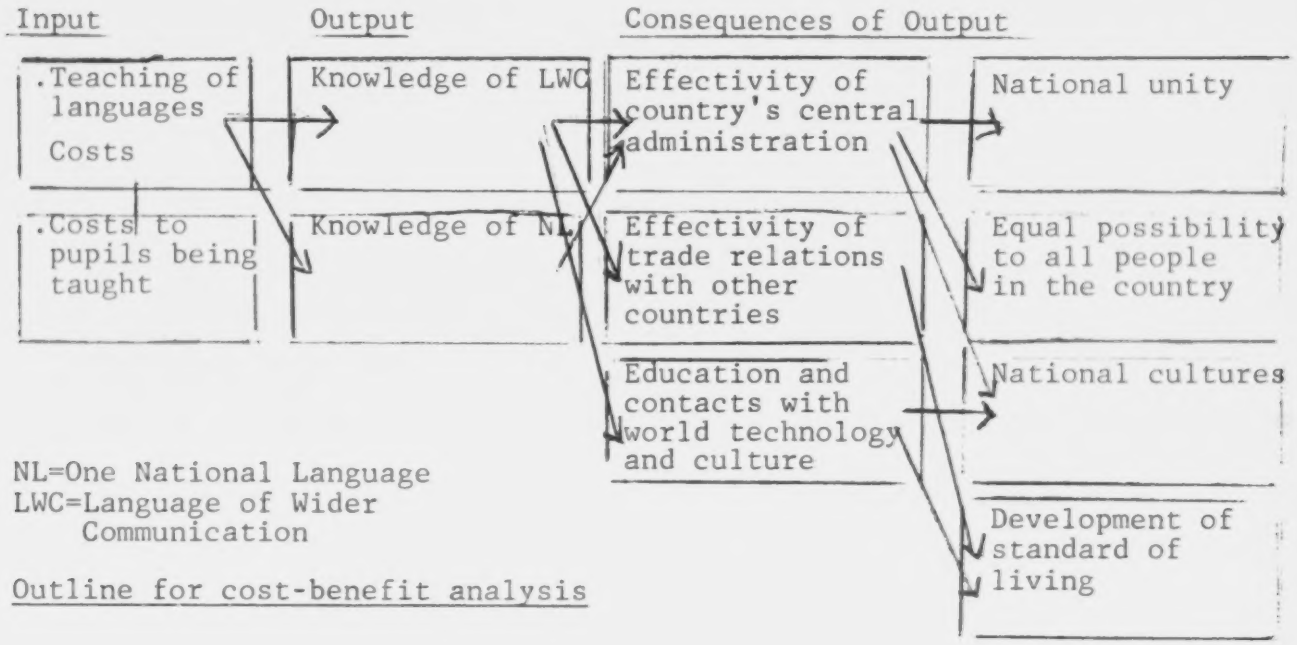
Introduction: Language Planning/Development Education

The concept of language planning appears to fall under the framework of multiple, slightly differing definitions and rests on divergent socio-political approaches. There are, however, several characteristics of language planning that seem to be generally shared among these definitions. First, language planning is deliberate and methodical. Second, it is executed by groups or organizations established or mandated for such purpose, and finally, language planning is consciously predictive and future-oriented. Two primary ingredients pervade language planning efforts: 1)choice of language and 2) language development--including literacy improvement and language standardization. (see Rubin and Jernudd 1971: xvi, and Garvin in Rubin and Shuy, 1973:29).

Language planning, however, does not take place as an isolated activity. It must consider the full range of social context involving at least four interrelated areas including: 1) political variables, 2) socio-linguistic concerns, 3) economic variables and 4) relevant psychological concerns.

More specific than language planning, itself, is the area of development education, an area of specialization that has grown out of the fields of education and language planning. It, too, is encompassed in an inter-disciplinary framework and "seeks to relate education to economy, polity, society and culture...analytically, non-ethnocentrically, comparatively and globally. (Textor, 1980:35)

The choice of language/s to be used in instruction necessitates the development of an outline for cost-benefit analysis by language planners. Thorburn (in Rubin and Jernudd 1975:259) suggests such an outline to include the following socio-political variables:



Outline for cost-benefit analysis

The relative importance of these variables has changed over the years. In the early 1950's,development planners seemed to be convinced that an increased level of education would produce more "modern" societies in the developing world. The period of the 1950's and the 1960's saw education as a causal modernizing agent with the definition of "modernization" linked closely with economic development. Western models of education were highly respected and overseas study was encouraged as Western languages and thought patterns were used as the standard.

By the 1980's, however, theorists turned from goals of modernization to concerns for dependency. These dependency theorists, including Walters (1981), Dadzie (1980) and Dale (1982) believe that adherence to capitalist models of education development fosters a continuation of the status quo with power placed in the domains of periphery elites or multinational corporations, and no real gains for the majority of the citizens. The trend has shifted, then, to an emphasis on education in languages that come from within the geographic and cultural regions of the nations. Unity and nationalism are socio-political considerations that have supported the exploration of educational language development in non-Western languages or in the standardization of pidginized variations of English or indigenous languages.

Closely related to the choice and development of language within a country are the sociolinguistic ramifications of such a choice both from an insider's and an outsider's perspective. Language is, after all, a social activity. It identifies the speaker and determines his/her relationship to the listener. Within a local or global setting, it involves intent, control and effectiveness in the communication cycle.

Planning done at high or centralized levels of government may overlook the effects of attitudes toward the chosen language in terms of resistance and low motivation in both formal and non-formal instructional settings. Practical problems in writing may be due, for

example, to potential conflicts between the home culture's perception of the functions of writing and the demands of the school. (see Stubbs, 1980)

In addition, social context might be related to development education through the learner's concern for status and social mobility. For example, some years ago in the United States, a few linguists suggests the idea that by writing reading texts in Black English, they would increase reading achievement for speakers of that dialect. The suggestion met with staunch opposition, however, by Black parents and teachers who objected that such a move would disadvantage their children vis-a-vis white students by isolating their children's learning experience in a dialect that was not a part of the mainstream of society. (see Rubin 1983:5)

Although it has been noted that sociolinguistic concerns may be overlooked in centralized language planning for education, it is also true that these concerns may be the implicit driving forces behind decisions made in the language planning process. For example, the Russian decision to require that ethnic languages be written in the Cyrillic rather than Roman script will allow the users of these languages to learn only one writing system. However, by learning to read an ethnic language through Cyrillic script, the acquisition of Russian will be that much easier and the cause of national unity thereby strengthened.

The economic variables of development education are also of prime importance. Language policy must directly or indirectly address cost-benefit concerns in terms of cash flow. This is difficult, however, because as Treffgarne (1981:167) points out, the role of language is non-quantifiable in the process of nation-building. Intangible factors such as cultural authenticity, modernization or promotion of economic links are set against tangible, but limited education budgets that have to be carved out to provide for teacher training in languages of instruction, the development of materials (including textbooks, readers and creative literature), the provision for language research and development, the establishment of interpreting and translating facilities and the attention to overall curriculum reforms.

The final major variable to be considered in language planning for development education is psychological and considers the cognitive effect of the languages used for instruction. According to Lambert and Sidoti (1981:84)"the cognitive value of each language equals its potential to facilitate (rather than filter) learning for young people in a particular setting."

Studies done to determine the influence of language of instruction on cognitive development show conflicting results. The Rizal Study (see Dutcher, 1982) done between 1960 and 1966 by F.B. Davis in the Philippines examined 1500 Tagalog-speaking children who received varying amounts of instruction in Tagalog and in English. The

highest level of subject-matter achievement was from the group that had used English as a medium of instruction.

Likewise, the St. Lambert Program Analysis done in 1972 in Quebec, Canada showed that English-speaking students educated in French from kindergarten through grade two showed the same level of academic content development as their monolingual peers by grade six.

Analysists point out that in both of these studies the bilingual situation in the classroom exemplifies an "additive effect" (Lambert and Sidoti,1980) whereby the second language used in the classroom is added to the first, rather than supplanting it.

On the other hand, studies of "subtractive" bilingualism show that in situations where students are coerced socially into using a language of higher status in the classroom, they may push out continued development in the mother tongue and experience difficulties in overall academic growth.

Such an example is described in a Swedish study done for UNESCO (1979) in which it was found that minority Finnish-speaking youngsters educated in Swedish-speaking classrooms experienced a slower rate of academic growth than their Swedish classmates.

Overview of the Case Studies

The case studies presented in this paper have in common the consideration of English as a language of instruction in development education plans. In a period

of growing interest in nationalism, and concurrent rejection of capitalist multi-national influence in developing countries, it is not surprising to find English language policy to be a political and highly emotional issue.

Statistics, however, show the pervasive nature of English. It has become to the modern world what Latin was to the ancients-- a dominating force as a medium of exchange in science, commerce, technology, diplomacy tourism and in pop culture. A recent article in U.S. News and World Report (Feb. 18,1985:49) estimates that English is spoken by 345 million people as a first language and by an additional 400 million as their second. In addition, " English is the medium for eighty percent of information stored in computers around the world."

Indeed, as a "link" language Kachru (1982:36) points out that English plays an important intranational role. His statistics show that of the population of those enrolled in schools about one third of the users of English are non-natives.

It is clear, then, that the paradoxical love/hate relationship that is found toward English in the developing nations puts language planners at a cross-roads.

This paper will present three case studies in which English is involved in the education component of national language planning and/or policy. The cases

were chosen using two basic criteria. The first was access to information in the existing literature and through local scholar-informants. The second criteria considered was diversity of geographic location. The case studies, then, that follow will deal with development education in the Philippines, India and Nigeria.

CASE 1: THE PHILIPPINES

Why the Philippines is Interesting

As an Asian island-nation, the Philippines presents an intricate and interesting combination of competing indigenous languages and strong colonial influences in their programs of language planning for educational development. The work of language planners in the Philippines reflects the concern for the on-going conflicts between the forces of nationalism and the forces of modernization. Within a present-day political milieu of intense conflict surfaces the gap between "official" languages and the search for a "national" language. Nowhere is this conflict more evident than in education, universally recognized as a potentially powerful instrument for growth.

The Language Situation in the Philippines

The Philippines located in the Pacific Ocean is an archipelago of more than 7000 islands. Geographic, no less than historical,isolation of population groups has resulted

in the use of an estimated 80-150 mutually unintelligibe vernaculars all traceable to a common Malayo-Polynesian origin. Of these native languages,between 8-15 (depending upon one's criteria) are considered major languages. According to the 1975 census, the languages with the largest numbers of speakers include: Cebuano, Tagalog, Ilokano and Hiligaynon. Goulet (1985:113) reports that the native speakers of these four major languages tend to be more highly educated, be more mobile and have greater contact with the outside world than speakers who live in more remote areas who have less access to the country's resources as a whole.

Compounding the variety of native languages is the fact that the Philippines has been occupied by two foreign powers, each speaking a different language. For four centuries (16th through 19th centuries) it was a Spanish colony and in 1898 it came under control of the United States.

It is no wonder, then, that amid such diversity there has been a longstanding concern for language/s to be used as media of instruction.

Background of Language Policy Development

Sibayan (1978) provides an overview of five stages of development of bilingual education in the Philippines. During the first stage (1565-1898), education was provided in Spanish, but only to the elite which constituted a small portion of society.The Spanish friars preferred to

learn native Philippine languages, themselves, to promote their missionary efforts.

The second stage (1900-1938) began with colonial administration of public schools by the United States. English was declared the obligatory language of instruction from primary grades through the university level. Even after the bills of 1916 and 1924 that promised "independence" (but without specifying future date) the government officially was to "provide for the maintenance of a system of public schools conducted in English." (Smolicz, 1984:273). In 1925 the Monroe Commission concluded in its survey of Philippine education that the use of "dialects" would undermine the social unity being established between regions and cultures. It also noted that there did not appear to be any evidence of the development of any other common language that could replace English.

The third stage (1939-1956) according to Sibayan (1978) witnessed the actual beginnings of bilingual education. In 1939, the use of vernaculars as auxiliary media of instruction was permitted by the Secretary of Education, and in 1940 the formal teaching of Tagalog (declared the national language in 1937) as a subject began.

Based on research done in the Iloilo experiment of 1948-1954 (see Ramos et.al., 1967) that appeared to show the value of teaching youngsters in their native language, a new stage began. Local languages became the language of instruction in grades 1 and 2 with English and the national

language Pilipino (so named in 1959) taught as a separate subject beginning in grade 1. In grade 3 English became the medium of instruction for all subjects with the vernaculars as auxiliaries in grades 3 and 4 and the national language in grades 5 and 6. The Rizal Study, discussed in the introduction, was conducted during this period and supported the use of English to promote academic achievement.

Recent Language Education Policies

The fifth and most current stage dates from 1974 and the establishment of a bilingual education policy by the National Board of Education. This system represented a reconciliation of longstanding competing interests. Children were to be taught in only English and Pilipino beginning in grade 1. A strict demarcation of domains was effected by the decision to have all science and mathematics taught in English, while social sciences and related disciplines were to be taught in Pilipino. Other Filipino languages were not only prohibited as languages of instruction but were not even to be taught as subjects.

The most recent Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines (1986) specifies that

> For purpose of communication and instruction, the official languages of the Philippines are Filipino and, until otherwise provided by law, English. The regional languages are auxiliary official languages in the regions and shall serve as auxiliary media of instruction therein. Spanish and Arabic shall be promoted on a voluntary and optional basis. (Article XIV Section 7)

It remains to be seen in the near future how this apparent shift back to the use of regional languages as

auxiliary media of instruction will be reflected in the statement and enforcement of educational policy.

Problems With the Current System
Socio-Political Considerations in the Choice of Language of Instruction

The controversy regarding language of instruction is closely bound to Philippine cross-cultural concerns with nationalism and is immediately reflected in the confusion surrounding spelling conventions. Smolicz (1984:273) points out that even the name of the country, itself, is variable: 'Philippines' is the English version, 'Filipinas' is the Spanish one and 'Pilipinas' is the official indigenous name. Although indigenous languages are usually referred to as Filipino languages, the 'national' variety of the dominant native tongue, Tagalog, is called Pilipino (with a P). The situation was futher complicated when in 1973 the constitution declared that the common national language was to be called Filipino (with an F). This was upheld in the 1986 version as well.

There appears to be no consensus of what Filipino <u>really is</u> except that it is generally considered to be based upon Pilipino with the addition of words/constructions from other indigenous languages. Linguist Ernesto Constantino (1981:33) who was influential in the deliberations at the Constitutional Convention of 1971 reports that the institution of Filipino was a political move resulting from the atmosphere of fierce hostility toward the Tagalog-based Pilipino. He reports that at the convention, the hostility was so fierce that there was danger that a foreign language such as English might be adopted as the Phillipine

'national' language. To forestall such a move, the amalgamation, 'Filipino', was conceived and promised to be developed with a universal approach.

The gap between official language and national language is apparently still large in the 1980s. The Philippine citizen has learned to accept the necessity of a lingua franca but is not willing to legitimize it by making a national symbol.

It would seem that the Philippines is caught with a multi-lingual society of groups unwilling to accept one rival language as national and not yet ready to create a name for a code that is still in the process of forming. The accompanying problems in the consideration of language of instruction mirror the unsettled nature of the political situation.

Problems With the Current System
Educational Considerations in the Choice of Language of Instruction

Closely related to socio-political concerns are those that overlap with education. Social Conflict Theory of Education (see Collins, 1979) suggests that the status quo in any society is hard to change through schooling because it is precisely those in the dominant social culture who are the unofficial "gatekeepers" of educational policy. This appears to be the case in the Philippines.Social class plays an important part in language decision-making vis-a-vis education. Those most vocal (i.e. those in the professional and middle classes) are the least disadvantaged by the choice of either a Tagalog-based national language or English as an official lingua franca. Pupils from the upper echelons of society may use English at home, attend

private schools and often come from Manila and other Tagalog-speaking areas of the nation.

In her study on language attitudes and motivations of Filipino bilinguals toward English and Pilipino,Pascasio (1979) cites English's importance for: social mobility, higher paying jobs, formality, power and prestige.

Language planners wishing to promote a Tagalog-based national language consider both formal and non-formal educative settings. Mercado (see Gonzalez, 1981: 129-134) sees an important educative role for the mass media in non-formal language development. He presents research showing preference for Pilipino already being shown in far-reaching areas of the country in readers of comics. Likewise, moviegoers throughout the country show preference for Pilipino as the language of choice in their medium. Although there is no empirical evidence in the Philippine setting to support Mercado's contention, he feels that the motion picture, with its appeal to both senses of sight and sound, is the most effective medium to propogate the national language non-formally. He ranks comics and magazines second and in areas where there is T.V., this medium may outrank the printed page.

The classroom setting, however, has two challenges. The first is to propogate the national language; the second is to teach in the content areas in the most efficient manner possible. This is no small problem.

The strictly bilingual (English/Pilipino) policy that has been in effect has severely disadvantaged many students over the years at all levels of the educational system.

Smolicz (1984:275) points out," In practice, this means that in schools of a province such as Negros Occidental, where almost all the pupils,as well as a great majority of the teachers, are Ilongos and speak a variant of Hiligaynon in their homes, schooling begins in what are virtually two foreign languages: English and Pilipino." These youngsters run the risk of being able to speak only halting English upon completion of their elementary education and at the same time they have not become fully literate in their own vernacular. Hence, due to the subtractive nature of this bilingual instruction, these children finish their schooling without being literate in any language.

Griño (Gonzalez,1981:202) cites a 50% dropout rate at the primary level, and in her discussion of extension classes that are set up for these learners she suggests a trilingual system of instruction that would include the use of the vernacular.

The learning of science and mathematics appears to be laborious, at best, under conditions of linguistic confusion. In a Philippine classroom fieldstudy, Campbell (1981) described the discontinuity entailed in using as a medium of instruction a language [English] which is not native to either the children or to the teacher. He found that although the curriculum called for the teaching of higher order thinking skills, the language problem caused an increase in low level cognitive exchanges in closed formats. He found that the youngsters did not

necessarily have a problem understanding the mathematical questions, but they showed considerable difficulty in knowing the answers and how to form them in English. Consequently, the teacher had to teach English during time allotted for math instruction--it became part of the content.

On the other hand, research shows that since the formal time alloted for English education has decreased recently there has been a steady deterioration in the knowledge of English among university entrants.(Manhit, 1980).However,at the university level the science curricula assume a steadily increasing ability to comprehend English texts. Also, low test scores for pupils in higher elementary grades in science reveal a significant 'linguistic gap' which curriculum planners may have ignored. (Smolicz,1984:276)

Conclusion

It would appear with the revolutionary change in government from the Marcos regime to that of Aquino, and the formation of yet another constitution,language planners may be at the crossroads of another stage in development education in the Philippines. A lifespan of less than one generation for a language policy that effects education is not very long, and if the trend continues, it appears reasonable to assume that there will remain confusion, not only at the decision-making levels where social, economic and political battles are waged with language as the stakes, but at the classroom level where the education of Filipino students serves as the collateral invariably to be lost.

CASE 2:INDIA

Why India is Interesting

While India probably cannot be classified as a truly "developing" country, it is an interesting country from the point of view of language planning for education. It is a traditionally multilingual society, and it has been for many centuries. Hundreds of different languages from a number of different language families are spoken in India. However, no single language can claim a majority of native speakers. (Specifics of the language situation will be discussed in the folliwng section.) This situation obviously has implications for education.

In addition to India's indigenous languages, English, the language of the colonizers, is widely used. This leads to conflict between the forces to nationalism, which would prefer to use an indigenous Indian language, and those of modernization, which believe that English is necessary for progress in the modern world.

The Language Situation in India
Languages Spoken

It is difficult to get an accurate estimate of the number of languages spoken in India. According to the 1981 census (cited in Sridhar, 1983), 1,652 mother tongues were listed. However, some languages are listed by more than one name. Counting only languages listed by more than 1000 people, and eliminating languages of foreign origin, a figure of 400 mother tongues was arrived at. These 400 languages belong to four language families (Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan, and Austro-Asiatic). As mentioned

above, no single native language is spoken by a majority of the people of India. Hindi is the mother tongue of a plurality, 29.67% of the population. Of the fifteen designated national languages (Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malyalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu) no single language is native to more than nine percent of the population. About 13% of the population speaks languages that are not classified as national languages (Pattanayak,1973). However, this statistic is somewhat misleading in that sizable numbers of speakers of the designated national languages live outside of the geographical area where that language is spoken by the majority. Therefore, only about 74% of the population speaks the language of the majority in their geographical area.

National Languages. All of the national languages have literary traditions, some of them dating back many centuries. Except for Urdu, Sindhi and Sanskrit, all of the national languages are spoken by the large segments of the population within defined geographical areas. These 12 languages are regional languages. Sanskrit is no longer spoken as a native language for ordinary purposes,but it is an important part of Indian cultural heritage, as are the two other classical languages, Arabic and Persian. Sindhi and Urdu are spoken by members of ethnic groups distributed throughout India

Official Languages. Hindi is recognized by the constitution as the official language of India and is promoted by the central government in numerous ways. Though there is some resistance, Hindi is gradually spreading among the non-Hindi

states. Fluent speakers of Hindi live mostly in the northern states, though a pidginized form of Hindi is understood, especially in urban areas throughout the country.

English is recognized by the constitution as the associate official language. It is widely spoken by the educated population, but is intended to be phased out eventually. Currently, it is studied as a subject by most secondary students and used as a medium of instruction in most universities. It is also available as an optional medium of instruction in the lower levels.

Summary. In summary, there are four major categories of languages. These are 1) classical languages (Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian) 2) the regional languages, the twelve languages spoken in defined regions, 3) mother tongues other than regional languages, the almost 400 languages not officially recognized by the constitution, and 4) English, the associate official language spoken by the educated classes.

Three areas of rivalry can be identified among these languages. There is rivalry between regional languages and English in the field of education, rivalry between English and Hindi for the status of India's official language and rivalry between the regional languages and local minority languages on the subregional level. In each area, rival language groups attempt to maintain and expand the current functions of their own language.

Language Policy During the Colonial Period

The colonial powers paid little attention to language policy until the late 1700's. Missionaries of various countries

ran schools for Europeans and for certain Indian employees of foreign companies. In 1765,the East India Company became a political and administrative power and recognized the importance of establishing colleges for Muslims and Hindus. With the Charter Act of 1813, the East India Company took responsibility for education and inaugurated a state system of education. Missionaries started elementary schools where the local Indian languages were used as the medium of instruction. However, English was used in the schools of affluent, upwardly mobile Indians, who saw English as a way of getting into government employment.

Conflict arose between Oriental and Anglo systems of education. The Orientalists wanted to preserve the existing Oriental system of education, preserving and promoting Oriental institutions through the classical languages. Those who preferred the Anglo system wanted to adopt European learning institutions and curriculum. For the Anglicists, the purpose of an English-medium education was to create an upper class in the European image, which, in turn, would pass Western-style learning on to the masses in their own languages. The Anglicists were supported by an influential group of Indians, themselves products of an Anglo education. This group knew that English was necessary for advancement within the colonial system and they believed that English was the key to bringing India into the modern world, to allow India to partake in the European scientific and technological progress which they admired.

The eventual victory of the Anglicists in the 1830's was

the turning point in Indian education. It resulted in the promotion of European literature and science in the Indian education system. Decisions to replace Persian with English in the court system, to give preference in government employment to those educated under the English system, and to use English in three major universities founded in the 1850's further soldified the influence of the English system of education and relegated Oriental education to a second-class status. (McCully, 1940)

In spite of government reports encouraging greater use of vernacular languages in the educational system during the late 1800's and early 1900's, English continued to have a privileged position in the educational system, and the vernacular languages became optional or required only in the lower grades. This dominance continued throughout the rest of the colonial period for a number of reasons. English is a safe neutral choice in a multilingual society. It is seen by many as a tool for advancement. There was a lack,or a perceived lack, of materials and teachers for the regional languages. And last, the inertia of the system of education exerted a not inconsiderable influence.

Language Education Policy Since Independence

Since independence was gained in 1947,constitutional changes have had a great influence on language policy. Hindi was recognized as the official language, with English as an associate official language, to be gradually phased out. In addition, the rights of fifteen regional languages were recognized. The constitution gave the central government the role of coordinating State policies on education for the purpose

of evolving a national consensus. A number of reports were commissioned and their recommendations were debated. The result of compromises among the demands of various priorities (national unity, administrative efficiency, technological progress, and group identity) was a policy referred to as the "three languages formula."

Under the three languages formula, a child studies one language, usually the mother tongue, in the lower primary grades and a second language, (usually English, though Hindi is possible for non-Hindi speakers) in the upper primary grades. A third language (generally Hindi in non-Hindi areas and either a classical language or a national language in Hindi areas) is optional in the upper primary grades and mandatory in the lower secondary grades. Two languages are mandatory in the upper secondary grades and none at the university level.

Problems with the Three Languages Formula

Although the three languages formula is "generally regarded as the least unacceptable of all the policies proposed so far"(Sridhar, 1983: 21), it has a number of problems. One is that it has not been uniformly implemented. Two states have refused to accept it and use only mother tongues or the regional languages and English. There is often controversy over the choice of the third language. Some non-Hindi states prefer to teach a classical language rather than Hindi. The Hindi states often complain that they are required to learn other regional languages, but residents of non-Hindi states are not required to learn Hindi. However, use of Hindi is gradually spreading, and Hindi is slowly taking over some functions

formerly held exclusively by English. As this happens, advantages of knowing Hindi become more and more obvious.

Another problem with three languages formula is the choices faced by speakers of minority languages (i.e. either speakers of languages other than regional languages or speakers of regional languages who do not live in the region where that language is spoken). These speakers of minority languages must either study four languages or forgo study of their mother tongue. For many minority languages, the study of that language is only available, up to fifth grade and only in major urban centers, if at all. (This problem, admittedly, would not be likely to be solved under any practical system.) Even if the minority mother tongue is available, there is a great deal of pressure to study the regional language and to take classes in that language.

Medium of Instruction

In a multilingual country, language of instruction is another important issue. This issue has two major aspects in India: 1) what the medium of instruction should be for languages other than regional languages, and 2) how long English should be the medium of instruction in universities.

Media of Instruction in Primary and Secondary Schools. In principle, attempts are made to use the mother tongue in the initial stages of education and ideally throughout the educational career. It is generally feasible to use the native language in the initial stages except in cases of languages not recognized as national languages and in cases of national

languages spoken by migrants who live in rural areas outside of the region where their native language is spoken. (Instruction in the languages of migrants can generally be provided in urban centers.)

The purpose of offering many of the non-regional languages as subjects or media is to affirm students' linguistic identity and to aid in acquisition of basic skills. These languages are considered to be of little practical use beyond this.

Instruction is offered in 15 major languages(all regional languages except Kashmiri, plus English and Manipur) throughout the school years. In addition, 46 other languages are offered for a limited number of years (Chaturvedi and Mohale, 1976) (Since, as was pointed out before, the same language may be called by various names, this actually represents many more languages, though it is not clear how many.)

Media of Instruction in Universities. The issue of replacing English at the university level is an even more difficult one. In common with many former colonial nations, there are many obstacles to replacing English. English is valued as a neutral language. It is acceptable nationally and internationally. There is a lack of scientific vocabulary and of materials in some of the national languages. There is also a fear of provincialism and the perception that regional languages are of limited value.

Efforts have been made on the part of the central government, state governments, the University Grants Commission, and individual universities to encourage and facilitate the use of regional languages in higher education. Since languages

develop vocabulary only as they are put to new uses, attempts have been made to hasten the process of developing scientific and technical vocabulary by creating technical terms. Grants have been made to state departments of education to develop textbooks in regional languages. Universities have established courses or sections of courses taught in regional languages.

These efforts are not without their critics. New technical terms, generally developed from Sanskrit roots, are criticized as being strange and unnatural, more difficult than the English-based terminology they are intended to replace, without the advantage of being almost internationally recognizable. To counter this problem, it has been recommended that teachers of science use whatever technical terms come naturally, without owrrying too much about language purity. Over years of use, it is expected that a standard lexicon of technical terms will evolve from this practice (Kachru, 1978)

In addition to the problem of terminology is the problem of textbooks translated into regional languages. Aside from the fact that they are considerably more expensive than the English version, even with government subsidies, they are often unnatural and difficult to read due to direct translation from English. These textbooks are futher handicapped by the (largely discredited) perception that regional languages are not ready to function as media for technical and scientific information (Sridhar, 1983).

In spite of these problems, universities seem to be making slow progress toward increasing the Indian languages used as

media of instruction. Though more courses are being offered in regional languages in more universities, they are still not as popular as English-medium courses, especially in scientific and technical fields. English-medium courses seem to be considered academically superior, and proficiency in English is still perceived as providing more opportunities. It opens up the possibility of studying abroad and is an advantage on civil service exams (Sridhar, 1982). These real and perceived advantages of English have resulted in the flight of almost all those whose families can afford it from free government regional language schools to often expensive private English-medium schools, even though the curriculum was not necessarily better.

Conclusions

Sridhar (1983) concluded that, in a multilingual democracy, the prestige language would tend to be gradually replaced in its various functions by languages lower on the prestige scale. He pointed out that this has been a two-stage process in India. First, the major national languages began struggling for recognition within the educational system, and, more recently, the minority languages have been seeking recognition in the educational system. However, there is still resistance and many practical and attitudinal problems to overcome, and it reamins to be seen what eventual solutions will be reached to India's many language planning problems.

CASE 3:NIGERIA

Why Nigeria is Interesting

In looking at language planning issues in developing countries, Nigeria is interesting for several reasons. It is a multilingual society of long standing. For a country of its size and population, it has the most complex language situation in the world (Dalby,1980) Four hundred different languages are spoken by Nigerians, three of them being major languages. English, however, is designated as the official language. This leads, in language planning, to deep and serious conflicts between the indigenous languages and the former colonial language, between the forces of nationalism and the forces of modernization. The situation if further complicated by the political problems of choosing among the indigenous languages, since there would be resistance from speakers of the other languages to choosing any one language.

The Language Situation in Nigeria

It is estimated that there are about 400 indigenous languages in Nigeria (Emenyonu, 1982). However, some of these are actually mutually intelligibe dialects, so there are probably between 200 and 250 distinct languages in Nigeria (Personal communication,S.A. Sonaike, May 28, 1987).Of these, three are designated as major languages. These are Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba. Hausa has the greatest number of speakers, followed by Yoruba and Igbo. These three languages plus six more languages, Edo, Efik, Fulfulde, Ijo, Kanuri, and Tiv have been chosen for educational purposes.

Because of this diversity of language, and because of competition among speakers of the major languages, no one indigenous language has emerged as an official language, despite calls on Nigerian linguists to develop a common language out of those sopken in the country. English is designated by the constitution as the official language used for business, government, and administration. It also acts as a "language of wider communication" for communication among speakers of different indigenous languages. The use of this former colonial language is resented by many Nigerians. However, it seems safer to many to continue to use English than to face the inevitable conflict involved with choosing one of the indigenous languages over others as the country's official language. (Emenyonu, 1982). Though it is not clear exactly what percentage of the population speak each language, Hausa claims by far the largest number of speakers. While Hausa might seem a logical choice for an indigenous national language, such a solution would face strong opposition from speakers of the other major languages. It would be impossible in the foreseeable future for one language to gain the upper hand, so it is likely that English will continue to be the official language for some time to come (personal communication, S.A. Sonaike, March 28, 1987).

The federal government is making efforts to encourage the use of the three major languages along with English in government, business, and administration. However, English retains its importance, and the other languages are making little headway due to the high prestige of English as a tool for advancement, the low esteem in which some other languages

are held, the fact that it is a neutral choice among the available languages.

Language Policy during the Colonial Period

From the time of the colonization of Nigeria in 1861, colonial authorities, to the extent that they dealt with language planning in education at all, encouraged use of indigenous languages for education. (Schmidt, 1930). (This policy was in sharp contrast to the colonies of France and Portugal, where policy required or at least encouraged use of the colonial language for education. Belgium and Germany, along with Britain, encouraged education in the indigenous languages at least in the primary grades.) British colonial administrators were, for the most part, content to have the people retain their own languages, especially in primary school, as long as there were enough Nigerians educated in English to carry out necessary administrative, clerical and technical functions (Ansre, 1978). Since few Nigerians were educated beyond primary school, most Nigerians received their education in their native languages.

The British colonial attitude toward language planning has been described as "benevolent toleration without any systematic planning"(Spencer, 1971). However, the British Colonial Office did have a stated policy, based on the Phelps Stokes report, issued in 1924, that native peoples had a "fundamental right to be educated as far as possible in the vernacular of their tribes."; that "there must be a language or languages of exchange with neighbouring tribal groups", and that "teachers and leaders must have an opportunity to learn one of the great European languages so that they may

have access to the 'wisdom and inspiration of civilization'" (Ansre, 1978). Since English was necessary for advancement within the colonial system, and education beyond primary levels was offered in English, and an English education gained a great deal of prestige, it came to be seen as the key to advancement. Also, in spite of the efforts of the colonial authorities to promote education in the indigenous languages, the attitude of these same authorities that Nigerians could not be civilized without being fluent in English was not lost on the Nigerians.

Modern Language Education Planning and Policy

Second Language Education. Though Nigeria gained its independence in 1960, it did not have a settled language policy until 1977, when the Federal Republic of Nigeria National Policy on Education was developed. According to this policy, during the first three years of primary school, English is taught as a school subject. After the third year, one of the three major languages not native to the given students is also taught. As the National Policy on Education states,

> In addition to appreciating the importance of language in the education process, and as a means of preserving the peoples's culture, the Government considers it to be in the interest of national unity that each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major languages other than his own mother-tongue. In this connection, the Government considers the three major languages in Nigeria to be Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba.(p.5)

Therefore, in theory, the Nigerian child is expected to have learned three languages during the course of primary school: his/her own native language, English and one of the three major languages.

While this policy has been in place since 1977, its impact has yet to be assessed. Also, since there is no known federal machinery for monitoring implementation of the policy it is not known to what extent it is being implemented in all parts of the country. However, since individual state legislatures can set language policy for their particular states, it is actually the individual states that control the languages that are taught, as well as the language of instruction.

Languages of Instruction. In the primary grades, classes are held in the mother tongue of the students or in the language of the immediate community through the third grade. After the third grade, and through secondary school and in the universities, English is used a medium of instruction. As stated in the National Policy on Education,

> To achieve the above objectives, Government will:... 3) ensure that the medium of instruction will be principally the mother tongue or the language of the immediate communication; and to this end will a) develop the orthography for many more Nigerian languages, and b) produce textbooks in Nigerian languages....Government will see to it that the medium of instruction in the primary school is initially the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community and, at a later stage, English. (pp. 6,8)

Problems with the Current System

There are serious questions about using English, a language that students have, at best, mastered imperfectly, as a medium of instruction in the upper primary and secondary levels. In an often-quoted study known as the Six Year Primary Plan (SYPP), researchers compared the scholastic attainment of different classes of native Yoruba speaking students who had been educated for the first three years in

Yoruba and the second three years in English with that of students who had been educated for six years in Yoruba.

The variables were somewhat confounded by use of new and traditional materials in different classes. However, the results clearly showed that the classes that received six years of instruction in Yoruba, in the long run, did better in language tests in both English and Yoruba and in academic subjects such as mathematics and science. (Afolayan, 1976 cited in Bamgbose, 1984). (The superior performance of this group in English was attributed to the use of new, rather than traditional materials.) It can also be inferred from the results of this study that students who have English as a medium of instruction in the upper primary grades have neither a good command of English nor an optimal command of their native language, so that they are handicapped in communication in both languages, in addition to being at a disadvantage in the study of their content subjects. The results of this study indicate that this is a subtractive binlingualism situation, in that a language of higher status is used in the classroom, which inhibits the development of the native language and causes difficulties in overall academic growth.

Every multilingual situation is different, and the same results might not apply even to the other language groups within Nigeria. The study, however, does make a strong case for at least the consideration of native languages as media of instruction at least through the primary grades. Unfortunately, in the ten years since the results of this study were announced, there has been little

effort to implement these recommendations.

One of a number of obstacles in the way of native language education, though, is the low esteem in which at least some of the indigenous languages are held. I could only find data on attitudes toward one language. Okonkwo (1983) administered surveys to 1200 Igbo sixth grade students. The results showed that 93% of the pupils preferred English to Igbo, all of the students were encouraged to study English by their parents and teachers, only half of them were encouraged to study Igbo by their parents and teachers, and 95% of them would rather have English as a medium of instruction than Igbo, even though 75% of the respondents reported that they spoke Igbo in the home. When asked to list their three favorite subjects, two thirds of the respondents listed English as one of the top three, while not even one respondent listed Igbo. In spite of this strongly stated preference for English,students performed far better in Igbo than in English.

Okonkwo (1983) attributed these results to two things. One was the attitude passed down from missionary educators in the mid-1800's that English is "a language which seems to raise the African person who is acquainted with it in the scale of civilization" (p. 374).The other reason Okonkwo mentioned for these was the fact that the content in the English language curriculum in Nigeria "was the reiteration of Nigerian imperfections. The course materials mainly exposed flaws in Nigerian ways of doing practically everything...There is little doubt that this was deliberate and directed at undermining the confidence of the child in Nigerian cultural

institutions and in the ability of Nigerians to progress, improve, or change on their own" (p. 374-375). Whatever their sources, attitudes like the ones expressed by these Igbo-speaking children and their parents, if they are widespread among other language groups, will effectively prevent the use of indigenous languages in education beyond the first three years.

An additional reason for the students' preference for English might be the fact that English is required for tertiary education. Without it, students cannot hope to attend or graduate from a university.

Another impediment to the use of indigenous language is the perceived inability of indigenous languages to deal with scientific or mathematical concepts. This inability is more likely due to the lack of demand on the languages up until now rather than an inherent lack in the languages themselves. Languages meet the demands that are put upon them (Sridhar, 1983). In Nigeria, as in India and the Philippines, it is necessary to develop a technical vocabulary for the languages used in education as well as develop materials in these indigenous languages. Hopefully, Nigerians will learn from India and other countries with similar language problems in these areas. For example, India has had problems with developing technical vocabulary because of efforts to maintain language purity by using Sanskrit roots for technical vocabulary. As mentioned above, this often resulted in technical terms that were difficult to pronounce and which lack the international recognition

of English loan words. Also, in India, texts were often translated directly from English into the indigenous languages, resulting in awkward grammatical constructions and discourse patterns that did not fit the indigenous languages. Translators of textbooks should therefore be careful to use grammatical constructions and discourse patterns familiar within the target language.

A third problem with changing to indigenous languages as media of instruction is the fact that English is, and is likely to continue to be, the international language for commerce and science. If science, for example, were to be widely taught in the indigenous languages, there would still be a need to mesh with the way of thinking of the body of English scientific information with that of the body of knowledge developed for the indigenous languages.

Conclusions

Nigeria's language situation is a complex one, and it is unlikely that simple, short-term solutions can be found. The position of English as a second language and as a medium of instruction must be reconsidered in the light of the results of the Six Year Primary Plan. While English will probably have to be retained, at least for the present, as a language of wider communication among different language groups, use of the native language as a medium of instruction in primary school must be considered.

One problem at this point is that there is no national consensus about what direction the country should go in language policy and planning. The government, in concert with educators and researchers, must come to a consensus as to what

language policy would be best for the country and what must be done to implement it. This consensus must, however, take into account the attitudes and needs of the people they are intended to serve. As mentioned in the first section of this paper, planning done at centralized levels faces resistance because of lack of sensitivity to the attitudes of the people. It may not be feasible or even desirable to have a uniform national policy. It might be best for state governments to develop language policy within a national framework, with the support and coordination of the federal government. Once long term policies are set, the governments must consider the obstacles to these policies and make plans for overcoming them. For example, committees of scientists should be appointed to develop technical vocabulary in indigenous languages. Also, efforts would need to be made to raise the prestige of the indigenous languages to counter attitudes such as those expressed in the survey done by Okonkwo (1983).

Emenyonu (1982) suggests a major change in the role of English, one that language planners should consider. He suggests that English become an "additional language", studied after the primary language has been established and used for communication among those who do not have their primary language in common. Emenyonu does not deal explicitly with the issue of English as a medium of instruction. However, he recommends redesigning the primary syllabus to emphasize "oral practice activities which would enable the children [to] develop rapid capacities for conversation in English about things they would ordinarily talk about in their

own age group. The over-riding goal...(would be) to equip Nigerian learners with adequate English vocabulary with which they can communicate with their counterparts...on subjects which are appropriate for their age and experience." (p. 31)

Changes like these would help improve Nigerian children's learning of content areas as well as their concept of themselves, their country, and their native languages.

Conclusions:

It is difficult to make generalizations about language planning in different countries. However, based on these three case studies, it becomes obvious that good language planning is vital for developing countries.

There are a number of differences among the three countries discussed in this paper. However, they also have a number of similarities. They all have a large number of indigenous languages,but English, the colonial language, is used as a lingua france and a medium of instruction, especially beyond the lower primary grades. At this time, all three countries are, with varying degrees of seriousness and with mixed success, to expand the use of indigenous languages as media of education.

The Philippines has seen three different language plans in the last half century, resulting in a considerable amount of confusion both among language planners and in the classroom. The most recent trend seems to be toward a greater use of the national language and indigenous languages in the classroom. Considering the difficulties that students appear to be having in using English as a medium of instruction,

this may be a promising trend. For the future, the Philippines needs to commit itself to a language policy and to implementing that policy. In doing so, Philippine language planners may benefit from both the failures and successes of language planners in other developing countries.

Nigeria has only recently (1977) formulated a language policy. While it is too soon to make definitive statements about the efficacy of the policy, there appear to be serious problems with it. Studies of Okonkwo (1983) and Afolayan (1976) indicate that primary students are not proficient enough in English to use it effectively as a medium of instruction. Students' proficiency in their native languages also appears to be suffering. This language policy must be reconsidered, based on studies of the effects of language policy both in Nigeria and in other countries in similar situations.

India has had a language policy for almost forty years, one which is, if not an ideal solution to India's problems, "the least unacceptable of all the policies proposed so far" (Sridhar, 1983:21). However, the problems that India faces are in the implementation of the policy. For example, there is still a perception that indigenous languages are inadequate for teaching scientific subjects. The government must work to shift this attitude by producing good texts in the indigenous languages, texts that are not mere translations from English but which make use of the world view of the languages they are in.

As mentioned above, it is difficult to make generalizations about language planning. However, developing countries do face many of the same problems. It is important to the future of language planning that developing countries share their successes and failures and what they have learned from them. Developing countries may have a great deal to learn from one another in matters of educational development and language planning.

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